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The Agents of the American, Massachusetts, Pennsylvania, Ohio and Michigan Anti-Slavery Societies are authorized to receive subscriptions for THE LIBERATOR.

The following gentlemen constitute the Financial Committee, but are not responsible for any debts of the paper, vis.:—WENDELL PHILLIPS, EDMUND QUINCY, EDWARD JACKSON, and WILLIAM L. GARRISON, JR.

WM. LLOYD GARRISON, Editor.

VOL. XXXII. NO. 22.

BOSTON, FRIDAY, MAY 30, 1862.

"Proclaim Liberty throughout all the land, to all the inhabitants thereof."

"Lay this down as the law of nations. I say that military authority takes, for the time, the place of all municipal institutions, and SLAVERY AMONG THE REST; and that, under that state of things, so far from its being true that the States where slavery exists have the exclusive management of the subject, not only the PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES, but the COMMANDER OF THE ARMY, HAS POWER TO ORDER THE UNIVERSAL EXAMINATION OF THE SLAVES. . . . From the instant that the slaveholding States become the theatre of a war, civil, servile, or foreign, from that instant the war powers of CONGRESS extend to interfere with the institution of slavery, in every way in which it can be interfered with, from a claim of indemnity for slaves taken or destroyed, to the cession of States, burdened with slavery, to a foreign power. . . . It is a war power. I say it is a war power; and when your country is actually in war, whether it be a war of invasion or a war of instruction, Congress has power to carry on the war, and MUST CARRY IT ON, according to the LAWS OF WAR; and by the laws of war, an invaded country has all its laws and municipal institutions swept by the board, and MARTIAL POWER TAKES THE PLACE OF THEM. When two hostile armies are set in mortal array, the commanders of both armies have power to emancipate all the slaves in the invaded territory."—J. Q. ADAMS.

J. B. YERRINGTON & SON, Printers.

WHOLE NO. 1640.

## Refuge of Oppression.

### OPINIONS OF THE PRO-SLAVERY PRESS.

The President has given the country and the world another evidence of that firmness and moral courage for which he is so distinguished. Although he had no official evidence that the proclamation at all—it was genuine, he saw that it was doing mischief, compromising his own and the position of the Government, and increasing the irritation already sufficiently violent upon the question of slavery. As in the case of General Fremont, he took counsel of his own good judgment and sense of duty, and nipped the growing danger in the bud.—*Albany Evening Journal*.

The President has rebuked an assumption far less dangerous, by removal. He has declared against the Federal right of Emancipation in the States. Both Houses are pledged, by a solemn resolution, against such interference. This General, who has fought no battles and won no position, assumes to set aside the policy of the President and the pledges of Congress, by blowing this wind blast of an empty proclamation through his camp.—*Albany Argus*.

The President's proclamation respecting Gen. Hunter's order is admirable in letter and in spirit. The Gen. Hunter should have taken the step he did without consulting the government, without even intimating to them the possibility of his desiring to take it, is surprising and well nigh incomprehensible.—*Providence Journal*.

Our readers will see from our despatches that we are still right in telling them in the *Journal*, that Gen. Hunter's abolition order was without the slightest authority. That gallant officer must be mad—at least upon some subjects.—*Louisville Journal*.

President Lincoln has again shown his own good sense, his consistency and steady adherence to the Constitution and the laws, by repudiating Gen. Hunter's recent emancipation proclamation.—*Philadelphia Ledger*.

What could have impelled so good a general to make a proclamation so wild in its statement of facts and so impolitic as to its probable effects, and so evidently opposed to the officially declared policy of both the National Executive and the National Legislature, surpasses comprehension.—*Philadelphian*.

We do not hesitate to say that, for this monstrous usurpation of power, for this inconceivably folly and recklessness, so totally uncalled for and unjustifiable by every consideration, Gen. Hunter should be permanently and ignominiously suspended. We need not be told that such a course would be safe, and that the military dealing with such cases to put a stop to them. Consider, however, owing it to its own dignity to vindicate its prerogative, for such impudent and arrogant invasion, to set its seal of condonation upon one of the most audacious acts perpetrated by any General of the United States Army in the course of this war.—*Phil. N. American*.

It is at variance with the whole policy of the administration, and is, therefore, calculated to embarrass it extremely. Unless the proclamation has been issued under special instructions, which the President does not consider applicable to other parts of the rebel region, we shall expect to see him direct that it be modified, as was General Fremont's proclamation.—*Philadelphia Bulletin*.

If this infamous policy has been adopted by General Hunter, we shall look for the President to recall him, just as he overruled Cameron on a similar issue.—*Cincinnati Enquirer*.

General Hunter's episode having been safely finished, the country is upon the whole to be congratulated that it has occurred. So complete is the success with which the President has improved the cause for his own purposes, that but for his denial of any knowledge or belief of Gen. Hunter's intention to issue his order, one might almost credit the suggestion that the order was issued for the purpose of being declared void by this proclamation. However the hopes of a limited class may have been disappointed, the President has to-day a stronger hold than ever upon the confidence of the majority of the people. The praises of his wisdom, moderation, sincerity of purpose and independence, are upon every tongue, and more than ever do the people trust fully him, as the chief stay of our hopes at this moment.

It is surprising that any general in the field should be compelled to issue such a proclamation, to sustain the responsibility of a step of such vast consequence as this, without instructions from the President. It will be the means of injuring the national cause immensely. Hundreds of thousands of the people of the South will be allowed to read the proclamation, that it is probably a trick of the Secretary of War, acting on his own responsibility, to which it will be traced. It is the act of a madman.—*Boston Courier*.

A surer mode of prolonging the war indefinitely could hardly, in our opinion, have been devised. It will inflame the Southern mind beyond measure, and if General Hunter be sustained by the President, we abandon all hope of a reunion. This we observe, is the view generally taken, save by the ultra Abolition journals. The principle herein foreshadowed may, indeed, be pushed into practice by the superior military power of the Free States; but it must end the total ruin of the South, accompanied, on the part of the North, by the necessary maintenance of immense garrisons, prodigious disbursements, financial crises, heavy taxation, and final disarrangement of trade. The North is rich, young, vigorous. It can stand much. It could not prosper with a Hungary or a Venezuela乍ing at its heels. Is it possible, as suggested, that the object of the Abolitionists are in the course of this war?—*New York (English) Athlon*.

Our shores have suffered much since this barbarous treatment. They had to them on Sunday, when we last heard of their capture, a report that they had been hung up with the poor slave, as an oppressed laborer, and who felt a righteous sympathy towards the slave masters whose loyalty they have every reason to question.

There to be no end of such offences against the moral sense and the patriotic feelings of our officers and soldiers? Are we still to be made the protectors and defenders of slaveholders, who surround and infest our camps, by authority, with deadly weapons to enslave the recovery of their fugitive slaves?"

This letter expresses feelings that are natural to every humane bosom. In contrast to the conduct of General Hooker, I desire to call attention to the course of General Doubleday, whose headquarters are here in Washington. I read his order:

## Selections.

### SURRENDER OF SLAVES BY THE ARMY.

SPEECH OF HON. CHARLES SUMNER.

Delivered in the United States Senate on Thursday, May 1, 1862.

On motion of Mr. WILSON, of Massachusetts, the Senate resumed the consideration of the following resolution, submitted by him on the 3d of April:—

"Resolved, That the Committee on Military Affairs and the Militia be directed to consider and report whether any further legislation is necessary to prevent soldiers from aiding in the return or control over persons claimed as fugitive slaves, and to punish them therefor."

The pending question being on the amendment of Mr. GRIMES, to add to the resolution:—

"And to report what reorganization of the Army, in its personnel or otherwise, may be necessary to promote the public welfare, and bring the rebellion to a speedy and triumphant end."

The amendment was agreed to.

Mr. SUMNER. Some time has elapsed since we see the persuasive speech of the Senator from Iowa, [Mr. GRIMES], but the subject is fresh still. The character, if not the efficiency, of our armies is concerned in the complete enforcement of the late legislation with regard to slaves. If this legislation be set at defiance or evaded, I think that our military strength will be impaired, and I am sure that our good name will suffer.

I am grateful to the Senator from Iowa for the frankness with which he exposed and condemned the recent orders of several of our Generals.

One of these officers, though recently of California, was originally of Massachusetts. He served honorably in the Mexican war, and, I believe, is an excellent soldier. His present position as a General is due partly to my exertions. I press his appointment. But had I for a moment imagined he could do what he has just perpetrated, he would never have had my support. When an officer falls bravely in defence of his country, there is an honest pride which mingles with the regret that we feel. But when an officer falls as General Hooker has now fallen, there is nothing but regret. He has fallen, although not dead. I say this with pain; but I cannot say more.

Major General Hunter's silly order relative to the abolition of slavery in South Carolina, Georgia and Florida is effectually quelled. The President has issued his proclamation, which not only settles this particular case, but defines the position of the administration on this important point, and on the compensation principle of March last.

After the unwavering line of policy of the President, from the firing of the first gun at Fort Sumter to the present day, we have had no occasion to expect any other course; and now, that the rebels are to be held responsible for such impudent and arrogant invasion, to set its seal of condonation upon one of the most audacious acts perpetrated by any General of the United States Army in the course of this war.—*Phil. N. American*.

It is at variance with the whole policy of the administration, and is, therefore, calculated to embarrass it extremely. Unless the proclamation has been issued under special instructions, which the President does not consider applicable to other parts of the rebel region, we shall expect to see him direct that it be modified, as was General Fremont's proclamation.—*Philadelphia Bulletin*.

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"HEADQUARTERS, MILITARY DEFENCES

NORTH OF THE POTOMAC,  
Washington, April 6, 1862.

SIR.—I am directed by General Doubleday to say, in answer to your letter of the 2d instant, that all negroes coming into the lines of any of the camps or forts under his command are to be treated as persons, not as chattels.

Under no circumstances has the commander of a fort the power of surrendering persons claimed as fugitives, unless it can be shown that it cannot be done without determining their character.

The additional article of war recently passed by Congress positively prohibits this.

The question has been asked, whether it would not be excluded to require negroes to be treated as persons.

Mr. SUMNER. I am directed by General Doubleday to say that the grossest oppression exists there. That is all I mean to say about it. I do not want to say that in this all details are correct; but that under our Army the greatest abuses exist there. I have no doubt, for I have the best testimony to that effect.

Mr. DAVIS. I have no doubt it is false.

Mr. WILSON, of Massachusetts. I have no doubt it is substantially true.

Mr. DAVIS. You do not know anything about it, sir.

Mr. WILSON, of Massachusetts. Quite as much as you do.

Mr. DAVIS. No, sir.

Mr. SUMNER. My colleague says he has no doubt it is true. It was put in my hands by a trusted slaveholder, known to be a man of great probity, and who had been compelled to witness the atrocities of the rebels.

Mr. DAVIS. What is the name of the slaveholder?

Mr. WILSON, of Massachusetts. If my colleague will allow me, I will simply say that I have other testimony, not so full, nor so complete, as that of Mr. SUMNER. It is a statement from a religious newspaper published in New York.

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## The Liberator.

BOSTON, FRIDAY, MAY 30, 1862.

## THE CALL UPON MASSACHUSETTS FOR MORE TROOPS.

GOV. ANDREW'S REPLY TO THE WAR DEPARTMENT.

The New York Tribune, of Friday last, prints the following letter from Gov. Andrew, of Massachusetts, which has been received at the War Department.

BOSTON, May 19, 1862.

To Hon. E. M. Stanton, Secretary of War:

Sir.—I have this moment received a telegram in these words, viz.:—

"The Secretary of War desires to know how soon you can raise and organize three or four more Infantry Regiments, and have them ready to be forwarded here, to be armed and equipped. Please answer immediately, and state the number you can raise."

Signed, L. THOMAS, Adjutant General."

A call for soldiers and expected finds me without

material for an intelligent reply. Our men are

preoccupied with other views; still, if a call for

three regiments is made, I believe we can raise them

in forty days. The arms and equipments would need

to be furnished here. Our people have not marched

without them. They go into camp while forming into

regiments, and are drilled and practised with arms and

accouts as soldiers."

Meanwhile the war is dragging on far into its second year, and into the heats of a Southern summer, one month of which is more fatal than a dozen bat-

tles-fields. We have made some progress, but are

still in a critical position. Our advance is slow, and

this is the policy of the enemy to bring about. They

seek only to delay the invasion of the Gulf States a

month longer, when they will have the yellow fever

and the malaria. Our troops occupy only the exterior

and the most unhealthy portion of the Confederacy, just the portion that is most fatal to them. The

mass of our forces ought to spend the summer in the elevated and more salubrious regions of the South,

and to enable it to do this, it ought to have the black population on its side. The recent gallant ex-

ploit of the black pilot who recently ran away from

Charleston shows what that population can do for us,

and it is folly to reject it.

We believe Gen. Hunter was fully aware of the

emergencies of his position, and acted with wisdom

in view of all the circumstances. He aimed a striking

blow at the rebellion, and such his proclamation gave it. We believe that blow will seal the fate of

secession, and that it will not be long before the

President himself will be convinced of it. We only

fear that the delay will be at the expense of more

millions of money and more thousands of the lives of

our Northern soldiers, thus sacrificed out of a mis-

placed tenderness for an institution which has al-

ready brought so much suffering to the nation.—

New Bedford Republican Standard.

## THE PRESIDENT'S PROCLAMATION.

We see nothing in the President's Proclamation to justify the obloquy and condemnation that have

been heaped upon Gen. Hunter. Those who have

abused him will be left uncorrected, that elsewhere he

will be imitated, and that slaves in the whole

Union will be thoroughly swept from Georgia, Florida;

and under this right of war he declares forever free

the entire slave population.

Gen. Hunter thus goes still farther than Fremont.

He does not confine himself, in accordance with the

well-known law of Congress, to those slaves who have

served the rebels in war, and whom he has hitherto

declared free by special order in every single case; nor like Fremont, to those slaves who "belong" to rebels; but he makes at once the most extensive use

of the war power, cuts out the cancer from its roots,

and cures the augean stals at a stroke and for ever.

And in order that practical measures may

straightway attend his proclamation, he begins to

exercise the freed negroes in the use of arms, and

under white officers, to form them into regiments.

From the past of Gen. Hunter whom all know as

a West-Pointer, and not for any anti-slavery senti-

ments, it cannot be inferred that a long-cherished

"abolition" idea has led him to this course. We

must suppose that he recently learnt from a

purely military stand-point the necessity of suppress-

ing the rebellion by freeing the blacks, and the im-

possibility without these auxiliaries of carrying on

the war down there with Northern troops during the

summer. On this theory it would not be the "sun

of liberty," but simply the sun in heaven, that has

signed the seed of emancipation in the very nest of slavery.

However, let us render to General Hunter the

highest acknowledgments, because he had the

moral courage to attempt a measure by which he

him not merely all his former friends, but the whole

"conservative" fraternity of the North as of the

South. Yes, he must have expected to be condemned

and removed from his command by the man who

once "corrected" the proclamation of Fremont.

All this did not deter him from taking a step which,

in his conviction, was necessary, and in which no

other General dared to anticipate him. He has had

the daring—the boldness—of doing what he did,

and for that let him be honored. He has shown

what a soldier can do who possesses a loftier courage

than that of bullets; he has raised himself to that

level on which the might of ideas overtops the might

of cannon, and has enabled the rude raw power by

its employment to do what it did.

It is clear that Mr. Lincoln is in the highest degree

increased at this emergency—presumably, of which he

knew and suspected nothing in advance; others as-

sert that he will not interfere, because he has con-

fidence that the Commanding General will do

what is necessary for the place and the occasion.

The majority of the Cabinet are reported in

favor of the measure. But should the President and

the Cabinet too condemn it, we are persuaded that it

cannot be reversed, but that it will and must be

carried out.

The consequences cannot be too highly estimated.

According to the latest intelligence, they were ex-

pecting a negro insurrection at Charleston, which is

not the case; he was left uncorrected, that elsewhere he

would be imitated, and that slaves in the whole

Union will be thoroughly swept from Georgia, Florida;

and under this right of war he declares forever free

the entire slave population.

In conclusion, one pious ejaculation: O that Gen-

eral Hunter were a German Major-General!

POSTSCRIPT.—Abraham Lincoln has nullified the

proclamation of General Hunter, so far as it abolishes

slavery. At the same time, he announces that he

reserves to himself, as Commander-in-Chief of the

Army, the right to free the slaves, and has not en-

trusted it to any General. In consequence, he ex-

horts the Slave States to avail themselves of this pro-

tection, sanctioned by Congress, for the buying out

of the slaves and giving them to understand that they

day the will encounter a "too late."

Mr. Lincoln may declare what he pleases. For

his wisdom, that "too late" has long since appeared;

and the sun's heat, and the finances, and the pest,

and the opposition of the rebels, and the perils from

which he has crowded first Fremont, and then Hunter, the

we might await this moment with tranquility, if the de-

lay which Mr. Lincoln needs for the acquirement of

sagacity, resolution and pluck were not costing us

daily three million dollars and a hundred human

lives.

The proclamation of Gen. Hunter is nullified by

Abraham Lincoln; that of Abraham Lincoln is nulli-

fied by events. *Vive Hunter!—Translated from the**Liberator from the Boston (German) "Pioneer."*

## THE PRESIDENT AND GEN. HUNTER.

We suppose all our readers have seen the ex-

periment, so astonishing to the juveniles, of blow-

ing out a candle, and then rekindling it by placing a

light in the ascending current of gas from the

smoking wick. The President has performed this

experiment, and has rekindled the candle of slavery

blown out by Gen. Hunter, declaring the proclamation

issued by him to have been issued without his

consent, and to be void.

We are not surprised at this action of the Presi-

dent. We know too well the strength of slavery in

this country. It exists not so much in the Presi-

dent's own mind, as in the public opinion, as evinced

by the general outbreak of disapproval by the press

of Gen. Hunter's course.

The North has submitted with almost unanimous assent to the abrogation of its

constitutional rights for the purpose of saving the

unity of the nation, to the suspension of the freedom

of the press, to the arbitrary arresting of individuals,

to the refusal of the writ of habeas corpus, to the ap-

pointment of military governors over individual

States, and other acts; but that operation which re-

sents a direct interference with slavery, and still under its influence,

still hesitates, and withhold its approbation from acts which experienced generals declare to be necessary.

We regret it. We think the proclamation of General Hunter ought to have been sustained, or that the President ought, without further delay, to exercise the right which he prefers to retain exclusively to himself, instead of entrusting it to subordi-

nates.

Yet the tone of the President's proclamation shows

that he is almost at the turning point. He indicates

plainly that the necessity may arrive for proclaiming

the freedom of the slaves, and again appears espe-

cially to the people of the slave States to accept the

proposition solemnly adopted by Congress to co-

op.

We are happy to find, and the conservative men

of the country will rejoice to know that the Presi-

dent maintains a firm and unwavering position.—

TRUE AMERICAN.

President Lincoln's proclamation, overruling the

late ambitious edict of Gen. Hunter, fulfills the ex-

pectations and will command the hearty approval of

the loyal masses of our country.—*Boston American.*

For illustrations, see "Refuge of Oppression."

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BOSTON, May 19, 1862.

To

MAY 30.

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A MYSTERY SOLVED.

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JULY 20, 1862.

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## Poetry.

For the Liberator.

## THE GENIUS OF LIBERTY TO AMERICA.

I sought thy soil with pious care,  
To plant and nurture Freedom there;  
It soon took root, and grew space,  
A blessing to the human race.

II.

Ever long men sleep, when, unawares,  
Base avarice soothed it with tares,  
Which now so high their heads have reared,  
Freedom has almost disappeared.

III.

Land of the Pilgrim Fathers' pride!  
For which their sons have bled and died?  
I weep to see these prostrate lie,  
Before the storm now passing by.

IV.

If all men thou like hadst loved,  
A home for the oppressed hadst proved,  
They "stars" would not so dimly shine,  
And men would own thou art divine.

V.

America! I love thee still!  
Thy name my heart with joy doth thrill;  
I lift my heart for thee in prayer,  
That God may in his mercy spare.

VI.

When from thy slaves the chains are riven,  
Then—not till then—shall peace be given;  
Then shall thy States be truly one,  
The fairest land beneath the sun.

Boston, May 20, 1862.

JUSTITIA.

For the Liberator.

## THE LADY MAJOR.

Mr. GORE, of Illinois, has made Mrs. Reynolds a Major in the State militia, as a recognition of her courageous services in taking care of the wounded at the battle of Shiloh, where she was present on the field throughout the fight.

Who with firm step and flashing eye,  
Passes undaunted, through the canons' roar,  
And thick and fast the bullets fly,  
And the red earth is soaked with gore,  
Gurgling from hearts that beat no more?

The soldier's wife, our beautiful Belle.  
The battle rages fierce and high,  
And a cloud of dust and fiery smoke  
Hangs o'er the place where the wounded lie,  
With gaping wounds, waiting to die;

But she turns not aside for the sabre's stroke,  
She does not quail, she does not fly—

The soldier's wife, our beautiful Belle.

A. F. D. R.

MAY.

BY JOHN G. WHITTIER.

Beyond the bursting greenness of the woods,  
Unto the misty, mountain solitudes,  
Has April breathed her sweet and changeable moods.  
But in the folded buds and leaves, and higher,  
Where nest the small birds in the fir-tree's spire,  
Through all the world there breathes a soft desire.

A mystic influence broods o'er hidden things;  
The caterpillar, in its drowsy rings,  
Dreams purple pictures of his future wing.

A sweet presentment fills the intense,  
Clear air. The brooks hang in suspense  
Among the rocks. The small grass feels a sense  
Of prophetic of a joy most strange and dear;  
For lo! May lifts the door-saturn of the year!

Deep out of sight, where earth's great mystery lies,  
Shut up within her heart forever, lies  
A thrill along the unseen arteries.

Within the tangled roots of beach and lime,  
The sweat says pulsate as they blindly climb,  
And sprout those tattered greennesses of its time.

Along the stream the whispering rushes say  
To one another, how the gentle May  
Brings in the sunshine of a dearer day,

And to the sweet-breathed violets that blow  
An averse margin to their silver flow,  
The garrulous ripples tattle as they go.

Sick with desire, the lily bolls turn pale;  
The wondering cowslips peep from every dale;  
And daid stand on tiptoe through the vale.

The amorous boughs bend toward her, far and near,  
While May stands in the door-way of the year.

At her charmed coming, at the fair South, where  
It lingered for her bidding, calm and pale,  
The sunshine flows through all the happy air.

Aerial arches of the sunset dye  
O'er the enchantment of her presence rise,  
And span the glory of the bending skies.

Now roll the minutes of the golden hour,  
And now the bud fulfills the perfect flower;  
Now Earth puts on her beauty's crown and power.

From the low casement of the cottage room,  
To the far distance where the dim hills loom,  
The lengths of meadow-land burst into bloom.

A hundred brooks, down-leaping whence they hung,  
And seeming mad, with many a silver tongue,  
Sing sweeter songs than ever yet were sung.

The birds all pipe her welcome, blithe and clear,  
While May comes through the door-way of the year.

## THE TRUE LIFE.

Have we not all, amid life's petty strife,  
Some pure ideal of a nobler life?

That once seemed possible? Did we not hear  
The flutter of its wings, and feel it near,

And just within our reach? It was! and yet

We lost it in this daily jay and fret,

And now live idle in a vague regret;

But still our place is kept, and it will wait,  
Ready for us to ill it, soon or late.

No star is ever lost we once have seen;

We always may what we might have been.

The good, though only thoughts, have life and breath;

God's life is always to be redeemed from death;

And evil, in its nature, is decay,

And any hour can blot it all, sure:

The hope that lost in some far distance seem,

May be the true life, and this the dream.

From the Anti-Slavery Standard.

## FLOYD AND THE DEMON.

[AFTER LEIGH HUNT.]

Floyd, the fleet-footed—may his legs out—  
Awoke one night from a wild dream of gout,  
And saw within the shadows of his tent,  
Making it blue, and like a match in scint,

A Demon, writhing at a rate untold,

Exceeding base had made the miscreant bold,

And to the presence in the tent he said :

"What writhest thou?" The vision raised its head,

And, in a tone made of all discord drear,

"Answered : "Those names to Southern men most dear."

"And mine one?" said Floyd. "Nay, nay, not so,"

Replied the imp. Floyd spoke a shade more low,

But warily still, and said : "I pray thee, then,

Write me as one who hates these Northern men."

The Demon wrote, and vanished. The next night

He came again with a great lurid light,

And showed the names to North and South a pest,

And lo! Floyd's dastard name led all the rest!

## The Liberator.

## REVOLUTION AND PROPHETY.

Extract from a Discourse, delivered in Music Hall, Boston, on Sunday, April 27, 1862, by SAMUEL JOHNSON, Minister of the Free Church in Lynn.

"Art thou not from everlasting, O Lord my God, my Holy One? We shall not die."—HABAKUK 4, 12.

The revolution, a year of which has closed, is to a wider vision than ours, but an historical event; yet it is quite enough to absorb us utterly, and, by the infinite complexity of its movement, to paralyze all power of definite prediction, by genius, experience or faith. What detail of its process was ever foreseen? There was no lack of data, during these last twenty years,—more than our poor brains could hold,—no lack of observers and calculators; for every eye was fastened upon this Slave Question with a fearful fascination, and every problem merged straightway in this. It was the dream of our nights, the toll of our days. For the scholar must leave his books, the artist his pencil, the logician his abstractions, the theologian his creed. To every material and political interest, this Sphynx had long ago said, sternly: "Answer my questions, or perish!"

He needed more light? We had seen every Constitutional guarantee of freedom, one by one, cut down. We had seen barbarism supplanting a government of liberty and law,—the State with head downwards, feet uppermost. We had seen the rule of the brigand in the capitol, of the bowie knife on the border, of the mob in public meetings; the pulpit hollow, the press a refuge of lies, the political oracles with no answer to our needs, but the hideous quackery of "Peace, when there is no peace." Our sins were ripe: God could no longer be just, if we were prosperous? Was not the plain sense of it all, *Revolution or Death?* And yet, how few read that sentence at all,—no man, the northerner!

Then, beheld another set of signs! The annihilation of all parties based on compromise; the annihilation of all compromises, even of those slavery had made in its own behalf; the death of every political leader whose name stood for compromise, or sustained the policy thereof. We looked around, and were startled. The Nation was without a leader! North and South,—thirty millions of people, after thirty years of unprincipled, brutalizing politics, left—bewildered and unpiloted—to work their way as they might out of the coil of moral retribution? The war in Kansas told us free and slave labor could not meet without mortal battle. The history of trade told us that they could not barter their shoes and cotton, steam-engines and sugar, without financial ruin. The chills of death were seizing the very social fabric our fathers left us. Was it possible to believe this could last? Steadily Slavery had brought us down to its own methods of settling disputes. Faithless steward of her divine powers of persuasion and command, Freedom found that these were paralyzed. What could come of this but civil war? Not because peace principles were impracticable, but because we had refused to use the methods of Peace; and now the night was at hand when no man could work?" for them. How plain it was to thoughtful men at last! We were approaching the precipice. Would Freedom survive the plunge? The hopeful believed, and called their neighbors to be true in the coming struggle—but who of them all comprehended how the North was disunited, and ridged through and through, with diabolic conspiracy? With what hopes of a peaceful solution marched that mighty party to victory at the polls! One grey-haired man accepted the facts of the hour, and answered its questions with his blood. A generation that had forgotten how to recognize manhood left him to stain for our transgressions, and bruised him to pieces. Into what ears was it whispered then?—The mantle of this marge shall fall upon the people who reject him: the party that despise him, in that hour when it shall have become the nation, shall follow his suit to battle for the nation's existence: that soul shall lead her armies where the McClellans and the Hallecks fail?

In the silence that followed that sentence, was it not prophesy? The wizards peeped and the soothsayers muttered; but who counted for true prophets the men who drew from this sign only their old warning of thirty years, "Proclaim liberty, every man to his brother, or I will proclaim liberty for you, to sword and to pestle"? And even of these right interpreters of the times, not one foresaw the moment not the method—not one, in his deepest trust, fathomed the coming wonders of providential care.

As in the English Revolution, "when the moment arrived for drawing the sword, all England, leaders and people, stood amazed," so with us. North and South, all predictions failed—all plans had miscarried. Was North—South the most astounded and flung aback when that gulf burst open at our feet, from the Atlantic to the Pacific, as by the touch of *One whom no man knew*? If the kingdom of God could ever come by observation, here were watchers enough to have told the hour. If the cry, "Lo here, lo there," could ever point out the lines it is to draw through communities and on the face of the earth, surely we should not in this case have gone so far astray in our hopes and fears?

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